

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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O 180920 Z JUN 73

FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2765

S E C R E T TEHRAN 4282

EXDIS

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CENTO, MARR

SUBJECT: CENTO

FOLLOWING MSG SENT HELSINKI AND COPENHAGEN FOR ACTION, IS
HEREWITH REPEATED FOR SECSTATE'S INFO:

S E C R E T TEHRAN 4175

EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY'S PARTY

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CENTO, MARR

SUBJECT: SECVISIT/ CENTO: SECRETARY'S REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL
SITUATION

1. FOLLOWING IS UNCLEARED MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION (PREPARED BY
FSO ROBERT CHASE) AND IS SUBJECT TO REVISION. FYI - AFTER LISTENING
TO SPEECHES OF OTHER CENTO MINISTERS IN RESTRICTED SESSION OF CENTO
MINISTERIAL MEETING JUNE 10-11, SECRETARY ROGERS SET ASIDE PREPARED
TEXT AND SPOKE EXTEMPORANEOUSLY. REPORT BELOW FROM FULL NOTES BY
USDEL ADVISER. END FYI.

2. SECRETARY ROGERS SAID DISCUSSION IN RESTRICTED SESSION HAD BEEN
USEFUL, INFORMAL AND FRANK, IN PROPER SPIRIT OF CENTO FORUM. BEFORE
UNDERTAKING REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AS SEEN BY USG, HE
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WISHED TO TALK A BIT ABOUT ALLIANCES FROM THE US POINT OF VIEW.

3. BRIEFLY SKETCHING PRE- WORLD WAR II US FOREIGN POLICY,
SECRETARY ROGERS NOTED THAT AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION AND GOVERNMENT

POLICY WAS ISOLATIONIST. AFTER WAR, IT WAS REALIZED ISOLATIONISM WAS MISTAKE AND US MUST PLAY MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS, MUST HELP PREVENT WW III. IT WAS DECIDED BEST WAY WAS CONCEPT OF MUTUAL SECURITY. ALLIANCES WERE FORMED BASED ON PROPOSITION US MUST BE CONCERNED, TAKE AN ACTIVE ROLE (WITHIN LIMITS OF CONSTITUTIONAL POWERS) IF MAJOR POWER ATTACKED AN ALLY. THUS CREATION OF NATO, CENTO, SEATO. SUCH ALLIANCES, INVOLVING ABOUT 43 NATIONS, WERE SEEN AS BEST WAY TO GUARD AGAINST MAJOR POWER CONFLICTS. AMERICA HAS BEEN INVOLVED IN TWO WARS SINCE THEN -- KOREA AND VIETNAM -- WHICH WERE COSTLY, WHICH CAUSED DOMESTIC DISSENSION -- BUT THOSE ALLIANCES PREVENTED A MAJOR HOLOCAUST.

4. SECRETARY SAID WE HAVE TAKEN STEPS, ALONG WITH OTHER NATIONS TO LIMIT THE USE OF NUCLEAR POWER -- POWER WITH CAPABILITY OF WIPING OUT MOST OF MANKIND. HE DID NOT WISH TO BE OVERDRAMATIC, BUT NUCLEAR EXCHANGE COULD VERY NEARLY DESTROY MANKIND. EVEN SURVIVORS, MERELY OF FIRST EXCHANGE, WOULD FIND SELVES IN DESOLATED WORLD. SO MAJOR US EFFORT HAS GONE INTO EFFORT AVOID ANY CHANCE WORLD MIGHT DESTROY ITSELF.

5. THEREFORE PRESIDENT NIXON EMBARKED ON PROGRAM TO SEEK ARMS GUARANTEES. USG HAS TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF SPLIT IN COMMUNIST WORLD, SPLIT WHICH MAY ENDURE FOR YEARS. WE HAVE SOUGHT MEET WITH USSR AND PRC. SOVIETS BEGIN UNDERLINE NEED END UNDERLINE WEST. THEY HAVE SERIOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. THEY HAVE ACUTE SHORTAGES IN AGRICULTURE AND HAVE FALLEN BEHIND IN TECHNOLOGY. WHERE TEN YEARS AGO WE PREDICTED RUSSIA WOULD CATCH UP WITH WEST, WE FIND THEM TODAY FALLING BEHIND.

6. PRC IS VERY CONCERNED WITH SOVIET THREAT. WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO CONVINCE THEM US IS NOT RPT NOT A THREAT. WE HAVE REDUCED US PRESENCE IN ASIA, OVER HALF A MILLION TROOPS OUT OF VIETNAM, 20,000 OUT OF SOUTH KOREA, AND OUR REDUCTIONS IN JAPAN. THIS HAS CONVINCED CHINA TO SEEK BETTER RELATIONS WITH USA. THESE PRACTICAL FACTS HAVE HELPED MOVE AHEAD OUR RELATIONS, HAVE REDUCED TENSIONS.

7. AT SAME TIME, WE DO NOT DELUDE OURSELVES. THESE NEW RELATION-
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SHIPS COULD CHANGE ANY DAY. WE WILL REMAIN ALERT, VIGILANT.

8. BUT IN THIS WORLD OF INCREASING DETENTE, THERE WILL STILL BE REGIONAL CONFLICTS. THIS IS ALMOST INEVITABLE WITH THE MANY PROBLEMS BESETTING DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE WORLD. WE SEEK TO CONVINCE AMERICAN PEOPLE DETENTE IS GOAL TO BE PURSUED WHILE AT SAME TIME REMAINING STRONG. YET MANY AMERICANS WANT TO RETURN TO ISOLATION. THEY WONDER WHY WE SHOULD BOTHER WITH REST OF WORLD. THERE ARE THOSE WHO URGE US GET OUT OF SEATO, GET OUT OF CENTO, BRING OUR TROOPS HOME FROM EUROPE. IF OUR ALLIANCES ARE NOT WANTED BY OTHERS, HOW CAN WE PERSUADE AMERICAN PEOPLE?

9. IMPORTANT THING IS THESE POLICIES HAVE WORKED. NOW IS NOT RPT

NOT TIME TO BACK AWAY. NOW IS NOT RPT NOT TIME TO INDULGE IN PUBLIC CRITICISM. THAT IS IN SOVIET INTEREST. THAT IS WHAT SOVIETS WANT.

10. CENTO WILL BE INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT IN DAYS AHEAD. WE MUST WORK TOGETHER, EXCHANGE VIEWS, PREPARE OURSELVES THAT EVEN WHILE SOVIETS SEEK DETENTE, THEY WILL NOT RPT NOT ABANDON THEIR IDEOLOGY.

11. SECRETARY THEN TURNED TO REVIEW OF SITUATION IN AREA, NOTING GULF AREA HAS

IMPROVED; OLIYAN# IS VERY STRONG; US RELATIONS WITH

ARAB WORLD, DESPITE ARAB- ISRAEL PROBLEM, HAVE IMPROVED. HE AGREED WITH TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER THAT WE MIGHT SEEK TO DO MORE WITH SYRIA, POSSIBLE EVEN WITH IRAQ. HE WAS PARTICULARLY PLEASED WITH INCREASED COOPERATION IN GULF, WHERE WE SOUGHT SEE STATES WORK TOGETHER FOR MUTUAL INTERESTS, WITHOUT INTERFERENCE OF OUTSIDE POWERS.

12. IN MIDDLE EAST WE MUST RPT MUST HAVE NEGOTIATIONS-- PARTIES MUST SOLVE PROBLEM THEMSELVES. WE READY ASSIST, SUGGEST, BUT IF THEY WISH TO LIVE IN PEACE, THEY MUST DECIDE THIS FOR THEMSELVES. ONE ENCOURAGING FACT IS THAT FOR ALMOST THREE YEARS THERE HAS BEEN NO FIGHTING THERE. IT IS BAD SITUATION, REGRETTABLE SITUATION, BUT WE SEE NO GREAT PROSPECT OF ANY IMMEDIATE OUTBREAK. PROBLEM IS THOSE COUNTRIES KEEP HOPING SOMEONE ELSE WILL SOLVE PROBLEM FOR THEM, US, FOUR POWERS, FIVE POWERS, UN. BUT IMPOSED
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SOLUTIONS WILL NOT WORK. STATES MUST WORK OUT SOLUTION THEMSELVES. GERMAN CHANCELLOR BRANDT HAS POINTED OUT THIS NEED IN LAST FEW DAYS IN TALKS HE HAVING WITH PRIME MINISTER MEIR. IMPORTANT THING FOR CONSIDERATION RIGHT NOW, IN SECURITY COUNCIL MIDDLE EAST DEBATE, IS TO KEEP SC RESOLUTION 242 INTACT.

13. SECRETARY THEN REVERTED TO DISCUSSION OF CENTO ALLIANCE. HE SAID THAT HE HAD LISTENED WITH INTEREST TO PAK MINISTER, THAT WE DO UNDERSTAND PAK POSITION. WE HAVE WORKED CLOSELY WITH PAKISTAN AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO. WE BELIEVE STABILITY AND INTEGRITY OF PAKISTAN IS IMPORTANT TO AREA. BUT THEY MUST UNDERSTAND THAT OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WITH PAKISTAN HAS BEEN GREATLY STRENGTHENED BY OUR CENTO RELATIONSHIP. IF THIS WERE TO BE BROKEN, DISRUPTED, JEOPARDIZED, MINIMIZED, BILATERAL RELATIONS WOULD SUFFER, ESPECIALLY CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDES.

14. SECRETARY EXPRESSED HOPE THAT AS RESULT OF CURRENT MINISTERIAL MEETING, WE COULD DECIDE ORGANIZATION WAS USEFUL TO ALL OF US. WE DON' T NEED TO PUBLICIZE OUR OWN REVIEWS OF CENTO. SUCH MEETINGS PROVIDE A GOOD FORUM TO DISCUSS PROBLEMS OF THE AREA. HE STRONGLY STATED HIS BELIEF IT IS IMPORTANT TO PRESERVE THIS KIND OF ALLIANCE.

15. FYI - AFTER IRANIAN PRESENTATION, PAKISTANI FOREIGN MINISTER SPOKE IN REPLY TO SECRETARY, REITERATING PAK POSITION (OUTLINED EARLIER IN HIS OWN REVIEW OF WORLD SITUATION) THAT CENTO HAD FAILED

SUPPORT PAKISTAN WHEN INDIA, BACKED BY SOVIETS, CUT EAST PAKISTAN FROM REST OF COUNTRY. HE REITERATED POSITION THAT PAKISTAN, WHILE WILLING BALANCE PROS AND CONS OF CENTO MEMBERSHIP, COULD NOT RPT NOT JUST FORGET BAD EXPERIENCE OVER YEARS WHEN ASSESSING WHETHER COUNTRY SHOULD REMAIN IN CENTO.

16. SECRETARY'S FURTHER REPLY AND ENSUING DEBATE FOLLOWS SEPTEL.
END FYI.
HELMS

NOTE BY OC/ T: # AS RECEIVED. WILL SERVICE UPON REQUEST.

SECRET

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 10 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 18 JUN 1973
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973TEHRAN04282
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: TEHRAN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730635/abqcekmd.tel
Line Count: 181
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 21 DEC 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <21-Dec-2001 by shawdg>; APPROVED <09-Jan-2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> jms 980211
Subject: CENTO
TAGS: MARR, CENTO
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005